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only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

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Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua*, to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no assemblages (*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono*, as in the modern *fono*, the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs, not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See how big he is."

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

> In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtafaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.
>
> The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite.
>
> At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifuka, Haapai, the beach on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing. Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesia, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere (25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe repri-

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walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman (30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

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is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (*26*, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukutuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

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Cisterns (*lepa*) for conserving rain water for drinking purposes were no doubt shared by several families, though owned by the chiefs. The ancient type of cistern, which has now been replaced by a concrete cistern, was a hole about ten feet deep, dug near a house. The sides and bottom of this hole were beaten with the trunk of a banana tree until they were hard and waterproof. Water was lead from the roof of the house by means of spouts made of bamboo sticks split in halves.

Dug wells, like clay-lined cisterns, were owned by the chiefs. (See p. 124.) These were used as bathing places, fresh or brackish water for this purpose being much appreciated. Each chief usually had such a bathing place near his residence. He might allow his matapule to use it also, but not his commoners. Women had special bathing places. A well or cistern for bathing was called *vaikaukau*. Many of them bore names (25). One just northwest of Nukualofa belongs to the chief Lomu.

NOTES ON LAND HOLDINGS

Eua

It is said that originally the northern part of the Eua Island was held by Manumua, anciently a chief of Eua, who was attached to the court of the Tui Tonga, and the southern part by another chief named Vakauta, but that later chiefs from Tongatabu other than the governors sent by the Tui Tonga obtained portions. Both original owners seem to have assigned portions of their holdings to later comers, as the following records show:

Tuanuku, a tract at the southern end of Eua was so named for Havea Tuanuku, younger brother of a former chief Nuku of Tongatabu, who came to Eua in the Eighteenth Century to be matapule to the governor Tukuaho. Manumua gave the tract to Havea Tuanuku and it is held to-day by one of Havea's descendants.

A Tui Kanokupolu came to Houma in Eua Island on a vacation (*takataka i Houma*; literally, walking about in Houma) and begot by a Houma woman a son whom he named Tupou Takatakaihouma and who was called for short Taka. Manumua gave the lad Houma, the north end of the island for his *tofia*.

Manumua gave as a *tofia* to Hama, a soothsayer (*tongafisi*), who came from the Tui Haa Takalaua, a tract which included Ofilei and Sipangai and adjoined that of Taka. Hama also had an *api* called Halahu, at the southern end of the island. The particular spot where he lived is called Matakiata (Seeing-to-Ata), because in his capacity of *tongafisi* he discovered Ata Island. He told his son to go to Ata.

The modern chief Hafoka of Eua, a relative of Veehala of Tongatabu, says that the holdings that were once his forefathers' are now vested in Veehala, who receives the rents from them. Kalau Island, south of Eua, once belonged to Hafoka and was utilized by the people of Haaluma, a former hamlet in Hafoka's *tofia* near the southern end of Eua. It was deserted in Christian times and its people now live in Ohonua.

Tongatabu

Formerly all the Haa Havea chiefs, as well as the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, had pieces of land in Hihifo. The Haa Havea chiefs received their

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There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure frequently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langakali* flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not married before first menstruation.

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was forbidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood

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and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* (literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family; the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope*, a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite society) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which consists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin. The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around) and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *langa mamalu*. I recall such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

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A chief's son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.

Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.

The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.

In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

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On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

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there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be required.

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) and tapa towels (*kelo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards to relatives.

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion, each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as *fae* called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tua*.

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were wrapped about the waist.

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveva* (mother to walk for pleasure). When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae* stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue! tue!" (to shout, to triumph over).

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together by his people.

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

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hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went to sleep. They were designated as *haatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night. In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called *kofokofo*.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage.

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters] of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed, the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances, accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

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of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua* ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupesia (in Uiha). That commenced the disturbance at Haapai.

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uhila stayed at Uiha and the Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to their own island. Laufilitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong fortifications there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaahau (later King George I) was still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The ship with three houses on deck (*falevakatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on deck (*falevakaua*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had just arrived from Fiji.

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulukalala and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast. Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki. They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only.

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people, the people that had clubbed Taliauli-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth of the saying of Taufaahau: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what Satulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaahau. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece of land was Taufaahau's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaahau knew that the people were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men) to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaahau withdrew. Just about that time

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objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, or was never seen again.

Hina

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn.

Taufa

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, later King George I.

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better."

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he accordingly had given orders, that if they found it necessary to kill the white men, they should, at any rate, preserve Mr. Mariner's life. The king put his nose to his forehead (a mark of friendly salutation;) and soon after observing that he was very dirty, and much wounded, he desired one of his women attendants to take him to a pond within the fencing of the house, where he might wash himself. Here he made himself as clean as mere water could make him; but finding the dirt did not come readily off his feet, she brought some sand, and began to scrub them with it: when he complained that this hurt him, she said something, which, at that time, he did not clearly understand, implying, that such was the Tonga mode of washing. Being now pretty well washed, he again came in presence of the king, and was sent to the other end of the house, where he was oiled all over with sandal-wood oil, which felt very agreeable, alleviating the smart of his wounds, and greatly refreshing him. He now received a mat to lie down on, where, overcome by fatigue, both of mind and body, he soon fell fast asleep. During the night he was awakened by one of the women, who brought him some baked pork and some yam; but being somehow prejudiced against the pork, lest it should be human flesh, he did not taste it, but ate heartily of the yam, not having tasted any thing since breakfast the preceding day.

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as being a nearer counterbalance with a man's strength. Sometimes he had got it nearly upon his shoulder, when his greasy burden slipped through his arms, and, in his endeavour to save it, brought him down after it. It is an honour to attempt these things, and even the king, sometimes, puts his hand to it*. The small hogs and pigs afforded no diversion, as they were easily lifted and carried away, each by one man, and deposited, not at the outside of Tooitonga's *malái* along with the largest hogs, but carried at once into it, where the cars of yams were also dragged one at a time. When every thing was thus cleared from the king's *malái*, the company got up and proceeded to the other, where they again seated themselves, whilst Tooitonga presided, and the king and his chiefs, out of respect, sat on the outside of the ring among the great body of the people. The large hogs which had been deposited in the neighbourhood of this *malái* were now to be brought in, each by one man, and, as it had been found that one man's strength was not sufficient to raise any of them upon his shoulders, two others were allowed to lift the hog and place it upon his shoulders for him, and then he tottered in with his load, followed by another

* Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, they are a very cleanly people.

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and the toil and trouble which it necessarily occasions. In the estimation of the romantic, however, this trouble is amply repaid by the rich and extensive scenery on every side, whilst the murmuring of the waves, breaking upon the rocks below, soothes the mind with a pleasing melancholy easier to be conceived than described. The effect which this works upon the minds of the natives will be more easily understood when we see a sample of their descriptive songs, which in language, like that of Ossian, are plaintive and pathetic. In the first place, however, it is necessary to state a few particulars relative to this romantic and diversified spot, that certain passages of the ensuing song may be better understood.

On the right of the wood of *tamanoo* trees there is another wood, consisting almost wholly of *toá* trees: here the natives frequently resort to rinse themselves with the fresh water found in the hollows, between the junctions of the large branches or limbs that come off immediately from the trunk, after having bathed themselves in the sea: for the salt water, without using such rinsing afterwards, is apt to produce, in hot climates, a cutaneous eruption: besides which, the fresh water washing prevents that uneasy sensation of heat in the skin, upon a little exertion, attended with a clamminess;

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and sometimes, on the contrary, with a profuse perspiration. Here also they plait flowers which they have gathered at Matawto, (about a mile farther along the beach,) which the women put round their necks or take home to the *mooa*, and present to their lovers or their friends, or to superior chiefs.

The following song is very often sung by them, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, is given in a sort of recitative by either sex; and in the Tonga language has neither rhymes nor regular measure, although some of their songs have both. It is perhaps a curious circumstance that love and war seldom form the subjects of their poetical compositions, but mostly scenery and moral reflections.

SONG.

Whilst we were talking of *Vavdoo toóa Licoo*, the women said to us, let us repair to the back of the island to contemplate the setting sun: there let us listen to the warbling of the birds and the cooing of the wood-pigeon. We will gather flowers from the burying-place at *Matáwto*, and partake of refreshments prepared for us at *Licoo O'në:* we will then bathe in the sea, and rinse ourselves in the *Vdoo A'ca;* we will anoint our skins in the sun with sweet scented oil, and will plait in wreaths the flowers gathered at *Matáwto*. And now as we stand motionless on the eminence over *Ana Mánoo*, the whistling of the wind among the branches of the lofty *toa* shall fill us with a pleasing melancholy; or our minds shall be seized with astonishment as we behold the roaring surf below, endeavouring but in vain to tear away the firm rocks.

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831 and if it be asked what effect this system has
182 upon the welfare and happiness of society, it may be safely answered, that there is not the

831 ledged that they become acquainted with such subjects at a
182 very early age. Nevertheless, a young female, (suppose 8,
9, or 10 years old), conducts herself with becoming modesty,
864 and any indecent allusion would put her to the blush. She possesses a kind of modest pride, which she probably copies from the example of her mother, or else it is her natural bashfulness, or perhaps both, which generally constitutes the safeguard of her chastity, till the affections of the heart growing ripe with riper years, she at length listens to the solicitations of her lover. In regard to the boys, Mr. Mariner never observed nor heard of any pernicious effect in their conduct, resulting from too early an acquaintance with these matters. When no secret is made, what is there to excite any farther inquiry? But if the subject be involved in mystery, it seizes strong hold of the mind; it becomes a frequent topic of discourse; and, what is worse, the curious inquirer is not contented with partial hearsay evidence, he has recourse to experience; for as long as any thing is concealed from him, he is restless and dissatisfied; and when he knows all that he *can* know, it will be, probably, at a period much more early than is proper: but in what other way can we account for the facts? Mr. Mariner saw no men at Tonga, nor did he hear of any, who made debauchery the business of their lives: on the contrary, they were wrestlers, racers, boxers, and club-fighters, strong, well made men, with fine swelling
831 muscles. Another circumstance must be noticed, as con-
182 nected with morality, and that is, personal cleanliness, in
[515] which no nation can excel (without ridiculous refinement) the people of these islands; and it is not unworthy of observation, that personal cleanliness sometimes argues cleanliness
[171] of mind and idea. As to certain preposterous habits, which so disgrace the moral character of nations west of them, and which have been said to infect the natives of some of the

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276 through the whole liquid as not to be thus separated *.

276 574 415 During the above operation, various people in the exterior circle are employed making cava cups of the unexpanded leaf of the banana tree, which is cut into lengths of about nine inches, each piece being then unfolded is nearly square; the two ends are next plaited up in a particular manner, and tied with a fibre of the stem of the leaf, forming a very elegant cup, not unworthy of imitation. These leaves are provided beforehand, as well as the water, the bowl, &c. by the 276 574 cooks. Sometimes it happens that there is not

[555] * No man undertakes to perform this operation at a large party but who has been well practised on smaller occasions: for it is considered a great accomplishment, even worthy of a chief: but a failure on such an occasion would look very bad: Mr. Mariner, however, never witnessed one. The cava dregs which have been thus put aside are afterwards taken away by the cooks, and chewed over again to make fresh infusion for themselves. The disgusted reader will here perhaps call to mind the assertion we have formerly made, that no nation can excel the Tonga people in personal cleanliness, and will regret that they are not equally clean in their food. If this objection were made to a native, he would say, "it is "not indeed very cleanly, for we would not eat a piece of "yam which another had bitten; but chewing the cava is an "ancient practice, and we think nothing of it: but what," he will perhaps add, "can be more filthy and disgusting "than the Papalangi practice of drinking the milk of a beast, "and giving it to your children for food?"—Every country has its customs.

[515] [264]

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weeks, without any sort of dressing or washing; the patient was confined to his house about two months, and was not perfectly recovered till near a twelvemonth, when he seemed as healthy and as strong as ever, with scarcely any cough having supervened in the meanwhile. This was considered a very dangerous wound, and a very well conducted cure. Mr. Mariner does not know that they are acquainted either with the exact situation or existence of the intercostal arteries.

It often happens that the arrow, not being a barbed one, is withdrawn without any difficulty; but still the surgeon thinks proper to perform the operation of *cawso*, not by enlarging the wound made by the arrow, but by making another at some little distance from it, in a part which, either from judgment or education, he deems more safe and proper. In all those persons whom Mr. Mariner knew to have undergone the *cawso* it had been performed in nearly the same situation as the one above stated.

We have observed in the before-mentioned case that the wound was not washed, and it may here be noticed, that in all cases of considerable wounds produced by pointed instruments the patient is not allowed to wash himself till he is tolerably well recovered, nor to shave, cut his hair, nor his nails: for all these things

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752 they say are liable to produce *gita* (tetanus), unless the wound be of such a nature, and in such a situation, that it may with safety be first laid completely open, then there is no danger. Mr. Mariner never witnessed a case of tetanus produced by these means; but he met with many who said they had seen it in persons who had got nearly well of their wounds, but happening to wash themselves too soon, spasm supervened, and death was the consequence. They notice that wounds in the extremities, particularly in the feet and hands, are liable to produce tetanus: also, in persons already wounded, sudden alarms, or even any sudden noise that calls the attention abruptly, is liable to produce this complaint. They never allow females to be near men thus wounded, lest the mere stimulus of venereal desire should induce this dangerous complaint. As to cutting the hair and nails, they positively assert that the mere sensation of these simple and common operations has not unfrequently been productive of these dreadful consequences. The man whose case we have just mentioned was eight months without being washed, shaved, or having his hair or nails cut.

Gita is a disease very common among the Tonga people; but still more common among the natives of the Fiji islands, who, from their

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The first appearance of day is the time of rising: they then get up, wrap their *gnatoos* round them, and go out to bathe either in the sea or in a pond; or, if neither is at hand, they have water poured over them out of cocoa-nut shells: they are very particular in cleaning their mouths, and frequently rub their teeth either with cocoa-nut husk or charcoal: they dry themselves with a piece of *gnatoo*, wrap their dress loosely round them, return to their houses, and oil themselves all over, generally with cocoa-nut oil scented with the aroma of flowers; great chiefs frequently use the same oil scented with sandal wood. When bathing, they either wear an apron of *gnatoo*, or of the leaves of the *chi* tree. When they have bathed and oiled themselves, they put on their dress with all possible neatness: that of the men consists but of one piece of *gnatoo*, measuring about eight feet by five or six; this is folded round the body in a very neat manner: there are two or three modes, but the one which is considered the most elegant, and therefore the most usual among chiefs, is represented in the frontispiece: that part which circles round the waist is readily loosened, and brought over the head and shoulders, in case it should be necessary to go out at night. There is a band which goes round the body just above the hips, made also of *gnatoo*, but which is, for the most part,

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Hikutavaka. Tail of the tropic bird [hiku, tail; tavake, tropic bird (Phaethon aethereus)]. Tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T). 103

Hikutemotu. Point of the floating island [hiku, point; te, to float; motu, island] Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Hilakival. To look askant towards the water [hila, to look askant; ki, towards; vai, water]. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hilavale. To look askant and foolish [hila, to look askant; vale, foolish]. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

Hilinga. A place or platform on which things are laid. Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Hina. Gray, or perhaps in this case the name of the goddess Hina. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord. Also headland on Hunga island (V). On west coast coast.

Hinavé. Taken by Hina [hina, a goddess; ave, to take]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Hingafua. To stumble while carrying [hinga, to stumble; fua, to carry]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Hingano. Name of a tree. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Houma—Vaea, landlord, Puke—Fohe, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island. Also tract near Matamaka, village on Nuapapu island (V). Also tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Hinganoleka. Dwarf hingano tree [leka, short, stumpy]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.

Hiva. To sing. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.

Hivaaiulu. Song of the owl [hiva, song; a, of; iulu, owl (Strix delicatula)]. Tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.

Hoaheu. A pair of men warding off blows in club fight [hoa, pair; heu, to ward off blows in club fight, fetaaki]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also well near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). This well belonged to the Tui Tonga and was dug by the people for the chiefs to bathe in. While the chiefs bathed in the pool a pair of men engaged in a club fight to the death on the edge of the well for the amusement of the bathing chiefs. Hence, the name Hoaheu. [643] [515] [541]

Hoata. Yellow, ripe, mellow. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Hofoa. Broken winded [ho, winded; foa, broken]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hofoauta. The inland Hofoa [uta, inland]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hofonu. Full breath [ho, breath; fonu, full]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Hofuele. Tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hohohohotalo. Taro cooked in coconut milk [hohohoho, to cook in coconut milk; talo, taro]. Tract in Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Hohomo. Name of a fish. Tract on Kotu island (H).

Hohuma. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Hoi. Name of a tree. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Pea—Lavaka, landlord, Tofoa, Nukualofa, and Kolonga—Nuku, landlord. Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haatoiho, landlord.

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103 **Hoifua.** Agreeable, comfortable, favorable. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Hoiuta. Inland Hoi [uta, inland]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Hokaanganiu. To take off the husk of the coconut [hokaanga, to take off the husk of the coconut; niu, coconut]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua (T).

Hokafa. Small cross timber of pandanus wood [hoka, small cross timber in Tongan house; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Hokihoki. To plant anything close together. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Talasiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Lukepa, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Hokomopulotu. Near to Pulotu [hoko, near; mo, and; pulotu, the land of the gods and of departed chiefs]. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Hokonga. The place arrived at [hoko, to arrive at; nga, place]. Tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Hokongatolu. Three places arrived at [hoko, to arrive at; nga, place; tolu, three]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Hokula. The anchorage. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Lavengatonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also former village on Tofua island (H). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). This tract belonged to family of King George I. A water hole there bore same name and was a chiefly bathing place, cared for by chiefs' retainers. Also tract on Moungaone island (H). Also tract on Ofolanga island (H). [643] [515]

Holaafa. To abscond and exaggerate [hola, to abscond; afa, to wish to astonish others with what is of daily occurrence]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Holaakuku. The absconding of the kuku shellfish [hola, to abscond; a, of; kuku, a shellfish]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Holaalupe. The absconding of the pigeon [hola, to abscond; a, of; lupe, pigeon]. Tract on Eueiki island (T).

Holaapo. To abscond by night [hola, to abscond; a, of; po, night]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Fotua, village on Foa island (H).

Holaasi. Absconded but penetrated [hola, to abscond; asi, to penetrate]. Tract on Eueiki island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Holaatengetenga. The absconding of the tengetenga bird [hola, to abscond; a, of; tengetenga, a bird]. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.

Holaavaka. The absconding of the vessel [hola, to abscond; a, of; vaka, vessel]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Holafa. Flattened out. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (T)—Malupo, landlord.

Holani. Holland. Tract in Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Holelatofa. To be beloved. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Holeva. To breathe quickly [ho, to breathe; leva, quickly]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T). The northeast point of Tongatabu, adjacent to Nukunukumotu. There Ulukalala has a house. Also tract near

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. [539] [192]

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear.

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga va*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu;* it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *kulukulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo.

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children. [857]

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent.

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability. [515]

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. [539] [585] [515]

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. [539]

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 235 829 **166. Kio mo kokono:** Literally chirping and straining.

A name applied to chickens. Rather an abusive epithet applied to persons meaning that they are chickens, that they cannot do much and what little they do is only accomplished with a good deal of straining.

167. Moa looa: Choking fowl.

Applied to one who is nursing some sting; or who for some other reason sits with uplifted head and preoccupied stare. His attitude is likened to that of the straining fowl. (Compare Nos. 146 and 177.)

168. Moa tangata fie moa taane: Cock who wants to be breeding cock.

"Breeding cock" is perhaps not exactly a literal translation of *moa taane* which means rather a fine, big, specially strong cock. Birds of this stamp, however, are kept for breeding purposes and to discharge the responsibilities of caring for a family. More ordinary cocks find their way to the pot or, more strictly, the banana leaf. This indicates the conceit of [157] an ordinary rooster who wants to be like his big strong brother. So of the little ordinary chap who gives himself the airs of his betters.

539 825 [137] **168. Hange ha veka kui:** Like a blind rail *(veka, Rallus pectoralis)*.

Wild, uncoordinated action such as might be expected from a blind bird.

539 825 571 626 **170. Kai pe tae hoo veka:** Eat the excrement of your rail.

Eat the fruit of one's own work. Used in reproach to one who is enjoying by himself the reward of his labor, by those who think that they should have shared it with him.

539 825 515 **171. Kaukau faka-veka:** Bathing like a rail.

The rail is not very fond of water. The expression is applied to a human being who manifests the same distaste.

539 825 561 **172. Kiki tou veka:** Young rail generation of rails.

The young bird is not in the same generation with the full grown birds. Used by anyone who wishes to emphasize that another is much older than he. I am no more in the same generation with so-and-so than the young rail is in the same generation with the full grown bird.

539 825 515 **173. Taka tahi a veka:** The rail going about at sea.

The rail may fly down to the sea or, in ancient days, may have been taken on a voyage by those whose god he was, but in spite of his proximity to the water he does not bathe. Used of one who goes down to the sea but does not take advantage of the opportunity to bathe; is contented to remain dirty.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 826 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is *"Jiijii a pakiji,"* which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 304 782 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.

Nima ku, that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima*, hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a ulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect. [183]

539 827 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 515 302 386 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.

A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 302 **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.

The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn. In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last. [137]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found. 515

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing. 571 602 826

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out. 827 576 516

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539

Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.) 431 183

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.) 356 [342]

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed. 423 571 829

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539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 [177] [178] [821] **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

17

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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ous to return hither, to celebrate his success in a plenteous and lengthened festival. Provisions therefore were plentifully accumulated, by the time he arrived. Four hundred baked hogs were brought to the spot, and round a stake driven into the ground were piled ten or twelve fat hogs of the weight of eighteen or twenty stone. The banquet was prepared and conducted with much form and ceremony.

Loogolala and his chiefs sat in all the dignity of savage pride, giving out their domineering commands, and drove the natives about like so many dogs. Here they stayed for a month or six weeks, eating and drinking, feasting and dancing, and making excursions of pleasure to the surrounding islands, where they were entertained in the same manner. After exhausting the provisions of these islands, they returned to the Arbai isles, where they continued some time, that Tongataboo might recruit its losses and accumulate provisions against their return.

Whilst going from place to place, on these triumphant excursions of pleasure, I was frequently exposed to the reflections and sarcasms of the young people, especially in the hour of bathing, which generally recurred three times every day, for being destitute of that cuticle vesture, which modesty has taught the South-Sea islanders to throw around them as an excellent imitation and substitute for garments; I mean the Tatoo. On these occasions, they would raise a shout of merriment and call me by opprobri-

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

Both bride and bridegroom are prepared for each other by bathing and anointing with sweet-scented oil, and are clad in fine mats and cloth. On both sides pigs are killed and cooked, and all the usual preparations made for feasting. The lavishness of the feast, and the amount of cloth and mats collected, are indications of the wealth and station of the families. When all is ready the bridegroom, accompanied by a man or woman who is called his "mother" *fae*, and who must be a member of his mother's, or his mother's mother's brother's family, goes to the bride's home, and finds her adorned and waiting for him. She too is attended by a "mother" of her mother's, or mother's mother's brother's family. A procession is formed. Bride and bridegroom lead, closely followed by the "mothers" bearing baskets in which are bottles of oil, wherewith they continually anoint the couple lest the oil dry on them. Then come the bride's female relatives, bearing the mats and cloth which her folk have prepared for the wedding; and last are her male kin with the food, including a special basket called the *veifua*, distinctive of weddings and funerals, and which is the principal food offering of the ceremony. When the party reaches the house the "mothers" seat themselves on the dais of mats under the shelter of greenery, and bride and bridegroom sit on their respective "mothers'" laps. The house is filled with women connected with the bride, no men are there, their place is with the food, which is their especial care. Presently a woman is called from the house. She approaches the bride, assists her to rise, and leads her by the hand into the house, where the women divest her of her clothes. The practice nowadays, whatever older custom may have been, is for the girl to wear inner garments which are not disturbed, but she is stripped of native cloth and mats and her wedding dress of European material. This clothing has been provided by the bride's family, and will subsequently fall to the share of the bridegroom's people. She is then arrayed in clothing, inferior in quality and quantity to that taken from her, but still good, provided by the bridegroom, and led forth again to her "mother's" lap; but presently another woman is called from the house to come and lead her in. Again she is undressed, and clothed afresh in raiment given by the husband. The clothing taken from her on this second occasion is for the bride's people. Then she is taken out to her seat on her "mother's" lap. If the bridegroom is wealthy the bride may be dressed in several fresh changes, all the dresses given by the groom being gifts to the bride's family. Usually two changes suffice. Then the *kava* is beaten up, the bowl being placed at a convenient distance off in front of the dais. When the *kava* is ready for drinking, but before it has been served, the husband and his "mother" rise and go into the house, where the women undress him, putting aside his clothing for the bride's family. He is dressed again in clothes, of

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

good quality and including fine mats, of his own provision, and a girdle of sweet-smelling leaves and flowers is put around his neck. He goes out and stands midway between the *kava* bowl and the mat dais, and a woman who is *fahu** on the bride's side calls the name of some important personage of the bride's father's family to go and take the bridegroom's dress. The bridegroom may either be alone, or accompanied by his "mother." The one named at once steps forth and takes immediate possession. The bridegroom then returns to the house, and when he has been garbed anew, comes once more into the space between the *kava* bowl and dais, and the *fahu* calls someone of the bride's mother's family to be the recipient of the second dress. Possession is at once taken as before. This may be repeated twice more, the third set of clothes going to the bride's father's, and the fourth to the bride's mother's family, but as a rule the first and second presentations are sufficient. The bridegroom finally comes forth from the house garbed in raiment which the *fahu* subsequently claims for herself, but which is meanwhile worn by the groom. This dress is called the dress for serving *kava*. The *kava* is now served, the bridegroom taking the cups round, whilst the bride sits under the canopy, and has presented to her the third, the chief, cup. She is the chief on this occasion. The food distributed with the *kava* is the largest pig in the baskets brought by the bridegroom's family, and the back, the chiefly portion, is laid before the bride. As in other *kava* ceremonial the food is not eaten by those to whom it is presented, but is borne off by certain people who are *fahu* to the several recipients.

After the *kava* has been drunk the food is distributed, that provided by the bride's people amongst the groom's family, and that given by the man amongst the bride's folk. Similarly the mats and cloth are exchanged between the families. The bridegroom has nominally the disposal of that given by the bride's relatives, and the bride of the presentations of her husband's folk, but very little of it will fall to their share. The distribution will probably not be made on the day of the wedding feast, but at some convenient time a little later. Meanwhile the mats and cloth given by the man's party are taken home by the bride's parents, and kept till she can go and attend to their disposal. Amongst regular wedding gifts are candlenuts and towels of native cloth, which are presented to both bride and bridegroom several days before the ceremony, to serve them in their preparatory ablutions. Candlenuts are ground in the mouth, and used as a detergent. There is no obligation to use these gifts

* The *fahu* is extremely important in Tongan society. It is a relative who has wide rights and authority over a man, namely his sister, or his father's sister, or their children.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

tic cultivation and the adoption of proper curing methods could lead to a more plentiful and superior supply of tobacco, and might even give the country a new export. Export markets might also be found for corn, hemp, ginger, chillies, candlenuts and kava.

One or two secondary industries might also be developed. If cotton proved a practical crop, a cottage weaving industry would be a distinct possibility. Silk might be developed in the same way, since mulberries flourish in Tonga. Sugar cane flourishes too, yet no attempt has been made to extract sugar, which is imported from Fiji. A small industry could provide all the sugar the country needs, and the buffalo mills employed in North Borneo might prove suitable for this purpose. The Tongans take great pride in personal cleanliness, but cannot afford to buy much soap. There is always plenty of copra: a livestock industry would ensure ample tallow, and the country would both increase soap consumption and save foreign exchange by setting up a small soap factory.

Mr. Cottrell-Dormer made a rough estimate of the cost of his complete scheme over the ten years he considered necessary to establish it firmly. His figure was £100,000, or less than half the amount of the Kingdom's foreign investments. So far the War and other difficulties have prevented much being done to realise its very attractive possibilities. There have been recent attempts to reform agricultural education, but apart from them the only important step has been the Agricultural Organisation Act of 1940.[5]

The Director's scheme shows that much can be done to improve Tonga's farming, its export trade and its standard of living. The Agricultural Organisation Act, even if it is still in the initial and tentative stage of administration, shows that the government is conscious of the need for such improvement, and is prepared to do something about it. The institutions already set up have made a good start and

[5] This Act sought to encourage planting, to promote co-operative effort, and to control the marketing of export products. Local Producers' Associations are to be set up, under the leadership of the town officers, with the general object of improving farming, and for such specific purposes as the acquisition and operation of hot-air driers. At the same time four export boards have been established. The Banana Board has already achieved an improvement in the quality of banana exports by making inspections more thorough, and by insisting upon the use of knives for harvesting. It has also encouraged the use of locally made cases. The Copra Board is now the sole purchaser of copra and has already secured improved export quality by introducing differential prices according to grade, and by refusing to purchase green copra. These authorities are all subject to a Council of Agriculture which co-ordinates their functions, and which gives them financial aid from an Agricultural and Industrial Development Fund, established by a government loan of £1,000. The Council also acts as an advisory body to the Minister of Agriculture.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

Against this the natives seem to have a strange aversion, and they have, hitherto, resisted or been indifferent to all applications for that purpose. No one thing, of its kind, could confer a greater boon upon foreign visitors, or could prove a stronger inducement for shipping to call, than that of securing an abundant and ready supply of good water. At present, vessels visiting Vavau have to fill their water-casks at Falevai, a place about eight miles distant from the ordinary anchorage; where, in addition to the trouble and labour of rafting to and from such a distance, the water is obtained by the slow process of baling from a well. In the immediate neighbourhood of Talau, where vessels usually anchor, there are places in the rocks, which, if blasted, would, probably yield an abundant and flowing supply. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the enlightened policy of King George will lead him to overrule the prejudices of his people, and to provide Vavau with this essential requisite of a good harbour. So long as such a provision is neglected, the truly splendid harbour of that island, of which we shall have more to say in another place, will remain comparatively unknown and unvisited.

Perhaps, as the natives themselves use but very little water, either for drinking or any other purposes, this fact may account in part for their great apathy. They are content with having a very few wells, dug in convenient localities, which afford a sufficient supply, for their household requirements, of a very hard and brackish water. It answers for but few purposes in European cookery. In the vicinity of the sea-shore, these wells, or rather water-pits, are dug of much larger dimensions, and

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they serve as public bathing-places. Where two separate localities for men and women cannot be obtained, each sex resorts in turn to the same bathing-place, at different and appointed periods of the day. The water of all these wells and ponds is simply the sea-water filtrated through the sand and coral rocks; and hence, it is largely impregnated with lime.

For soft water, the Mission families, and other foreigners, depend entirely upon what is collected from the clouds, either in tanks or in clay pits, called by the natives *lebas*. In the construction of these pits, the people are extremely clever; but they soon crack under the intense heat of the vertical sun, unless tended with great care, and most effectually covered over with thick layers of cocoa-nut leaves.

It is to be regretted that no regular meteorological registers have ever been kept by the Missionaries residing in the Tonguese islands. The information thus obtained is of great public utility, and we think it would be no abuse, but rather a legitimate employment, of Missionary funds, to supply every central station with a set of the most approved modern barometrical and meteorological instruments. The daily observations necessary need interfere in no degree whatever with the higher, and spiritual duties of the Missionary; while the value of the information would be an ample remuneration for the small expenditure of money and time. The Missionaries of the London Missionary Society have done good service, in this department of science, by their carefully prepared Meteorological Registers, published from the Samoan Islands. It appears that in those islands there are, on an

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slightly pink farinaceous flesh. The best sorts surpass the finest pear in excellency of flavour. These are eaten raw, or they may be baked, or stewed, according to fancy. The Chinese dwarf banana, (*Musa coccinea*, or *M. Chinensis*,) was introduced only a few years since, and has already been widely spread through the islands. The fruit is of a very delicate flavour, and the stem of this species not being more than four feet high, it is much better able to endure the periodical gales that level to the ground all the taller sorts. It has, consequently, become a great favourite with the people, and will, probably, supplant many of the others entirely.

No use has yet been made, by the Tonguese, of the stem of this tree, in the manufacture of cordage, as is the practice in Manilla and elsewhere. Its leaves, however, serve for several useful purposes. One leaf can be readily fashioned, in a few minutes, into at least half-a-dozen drinking cups; while by gently heating an entire leaf over a fire, through which it is rendered at once pliable and tough, wrappers can be made in which to bake fowls so as to retain their gravy, or in which even fish-soup can be cooked without any loss of the liquid. Indeed, we have frequently seen a banana-leaf bag, containing a gallon, or more, of cocoa-nut oil, that had been carried safely therein for many miles. Portions of the juicy stem of the tree are always brought, at the conclusion of a meal, to be used by the guests, instead of soap and water, in cleansing the fingers, after these have performed the duties of knife and fork. It does this very effectively, when well shredded, by rubbing between the hands.

Among other edible fruits of Tonga may be

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all, but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bridegroom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord conveniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful, and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for

361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided into town allotments. A brother of one of the present title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however, and already a number of town allotments are occupied by more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on the 'api, each household has a number of different-looking [342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the beito, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure over a pit-latrine (fale mālōlō) and another enclosure, [513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (fale kaukau). In some cases, there are other structures as well, providing additional sleeping space. And there may also be an enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each 'api usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

576 could sit down. The hands after performing this ceremony, are in
643 some cases, rendered useless for a time, for untill they are washed
644 they must not handle any kind of victuals; this in a Country like
565 this, where water is not always at hand would seem to be attended
with some ilconv[en]iency, but they are never without a succedan-
ium, for a piece of any juicy plants of which there are always enough
784 at hand, answers the purpose of water. When the hands are in this
[783] state they call it *Taboo rema*,[1] Taboo in general signifies forbiden and
[515] rema is hand.

When it is occasioned by paying obeisance to a great personage it is soon washed of; but in some other cases, it is of some continuance; we have frequently met with women that have been Taboo rema and
783 have been fed by others, but never with a man. When the time is ex-
643 pired, she goes and washes in one of their baths which are dirty holes for the most part of brackesh water, she then comes to the King, make[s] her obeisance in the usual way, then takes his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders and most other parts of her body, he then embraces her first on the one shoulder and then on the other, after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know that it is always necessary to come to the King, Omai said it was, if so this may be one reason why he is for the most part traveling from
[634] island to island. I saw it done with him two or three times, and with Feenough once, but this was with one of his own Women and as Omai was not with me I could not ask the occasion.

784 *Taboo* as I have before observed is a word of an extensive significa-
[782] tion; Human Sacrifices are called *Tangata Taboo*, and when any thing
[643] is forbid to be eaten, or made use of they say such a thing is Taboo;
[342] they tell us that if the King should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be Taboo and never more be inhabited by the owner;[2] so that where ever he travels there are houses for his reception; indeed none of them at no time make free with each
[644] others habitations. Old Toobough was at this time over the Taboo,[3] that is if Omai understood them right, he and his deputies inspected

[1] *tapu sima* is the modern form. But Cook must have heard the ambiguous Polynesian *r* sound in the word for 'hand'. He knew it from Tahiti and New Zealand.

[482] [2] Or he was accompanied by a special portable house, *falefata*, carried around in sec-
[449] tions. It will be remembered that the day Cook first met Paulaho, 27 May (p. 116 above), the king was 'carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand barrow' [another mark of his eminence], 'and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate travelling Chiefs'. The *arii rahi* in Tahiti could put houses out of commission in the same way. Even if the Tu'i Tonga sat on a mat or rested on a piece of tapa, the article could not be again used by the owner but passed to the king.

[3] 'Over the Taboo': meaning that he decided on matters of *tapu*; doing this and other work, Tongan fashion, for his elder brother Maealiuaki, the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

301 cylindrical bits of ivory[1] about three inches long, introduc'd at one
237 hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd
304 with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric,
302 with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to
515 procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut
302 shells of fresher water pourd over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity, and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to
[565 receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however
296] is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think that could not be done.

461 Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circumstances is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never interrupted by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till
462 satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the
462 women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is
285 wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and
[824 many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the
245 tough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they
248] wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

[1] Whale tooth.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

not unlike thick Sago or jelly from the Ma'whaha root, which doubtless affords a great quantity of nourishment; but the most palatable dainty, at least to us, is the bak'd root of the Sugar cane & Jeejee[1] which is but seldom met with. A dish of Vegetable and another of fish or other animal food commonly satisfys them, but we have seen Poulaho have four besides his yams for dinner, as bak'd pork, the Crow of the hog dress'd differently, the Talo tops as greens boild or rather sodden in oil or fat, and a bak'd Cuttle fish. 262

They seldom eat in their houses, but in fine weather sit down under the shade of a large tree and have their meal brought in baskets of Cocoa leaves to them, which is commonly divided into as many portions as there are people and laid before them in plantane or other leaves, with a small reserve in case any one should wish to eat more than his first share. They have some hollow'd wooden dishes but are not so commonly us'd as the leaves. Their only knives & forks are a bit of Bamboo or their hands, but many of the principal people have each mouthfull (which ar[e] commonly very large) of fish or pork prepard and laid upon a piece of yam by a servant, so that they have only the trouble of putting it into their mouths. In general they are moderate eaters, but their method of feeding does not seem to agree with their personal cleanliness, as they make no scruple of eating their pork (which is seldom dress'd about the head & neck from placing it in a round oven) quite raw and bloody and very frequently fish just as they are caught, as well as all sorts of shell fish, some of which are reckon'd a great delicacy in that state especially a particular part of the large Cockle. They are also very fond of every thing that is fat, and to procure that will even dress their shark cut up into large pieces by putting a large piece of the liver between two pieces of the fish, which doubtless yields a very rank oil: but what is worse they will often eat the vermin from their own heads, and have been seen to lick up the matter squeez'd from a boil with their fingers. Their drink at meals is the juice or water of the Cocoa nut, a natural liquor so agreeable that all who taste must prefer it unless habituated to some pernicious artificial one. Nature seems in some measure to have supplied her scanty allowance of water to them from fitting their country to produce large numbers of these, and in great perfection; but it is not the only provision in this case, for they often scrape down the kernel of the nut and by mixing it with water make a fine milky liquor which renders even that naturally disagreeable article pleasing. When the meal is finish'd they always

264 415 264 [412] 262 [261] 272 264 515

[1] This reminds one of the New Zealand use of Ti, *Cordyline australis*, the brother of the 'Jeejee'.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

wash their hands with a piece of the plantane tree broke and rubb'd over them, the husk of the cocoa nut or any thing that has moisture, which serves on all occasions and is a lesson necessity (from the scarcity of water) has certainly taught them.

The situation of their houses was mention'd before; but notwithstanding their method of life requires they should be much scatterd, that each man may cultivate his own ground, they are very fond of associating together, so that it is common to find several houses empty and the owners conven'd in some other one or a convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women. When one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers it is calld oo'bai,[1] but when there is a great number they divide into several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva. In the same manner they vary the music of their flutes by playing on those of a different size, but their dancing is much as when they perform publickly. The dancing of the men (if it is to be call'd dancing) although it does not consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers. They seem to be as numerous as all the steps in our different dances taken together, & perform'd with an ease and grace which is not to be describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up. There are some others which may be calld their house diversions practic'd by the grown people, one of which nam'd Kaka'habo[2] is exactly upon the same principle as our Cup and ball. It is done by fastening a bit of Tortoise shell, four inches long & one broad with the ends turn'd up above an inch & fork'd, across the end of a small rod about four feet long, near the other end of which a small round gourd shell is fix'd with a string just of a sufficient length to allow its being thrown into the tortoise shell. They also fasten the hard round seed of a plant larger than a musket ball to each end of a string about two feet long,

[1] *'ufe.* The word has changed its meaning, being now equivalent to 'lullaby'. But it must always have had a wide significance: Mariner says (II, p. 217) *'Oobe.* This kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fango-fango,* (or nose-flute). The subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave.' The songs 'last described' were 'descriptive of scenery . . . descriptive of past events, or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi.*'

[2] Mariner calls the game 'habo', and says it was practised by women only. *Hopohapo* is to keep on throwing something up and catching it.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

439 We were soon surrounded by a great number of Canoes full of men who behaved in a friendly manner to us and sold us Hogs, Cocoa nuts, Plantains and other fruits for nails & beads.

122 JUNE 11th. The Tents with the 2 Astronomers' Observatories were erected on shore under a Guard of Marines, & all our live Stock was landed which consisted of 4 Horses, several head of Cattle, Sheep, Goats & Hogs with Peacocks, Turkies & Geese. Our Tents were situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of Public Games, such as wrestling, boxing &c. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs Houses, behind them lay a thick wood, on the right an Inlet which extended a considerable way up but was dry at low water, on the left was the Harbour where we could see between the Trees the Ships at anchor; the Observatories were erected without the Area close to the Beach but within sight of the Tents, they were inclosed with a Hedge [312] & always guarded by a Sentry. Near the Tents was a pool of in- [515] different fresh Water, of which there are many in the Island and are used as bathing places by the Natives. Powlohow took up his resi- 177 dence in a House a little way without the Area, that next to the Tents 825 was occupied by his Consent by some of the Gentlemen who were [122] ordered a shore on duty, and another little Hut close by was allotted [649] us for the use of our Cattle & Poultry, whose appearance excited as much astonishment and admiration as a Collection of wild Beasts at a Country fair in England. The Indians were a long time before they could be persuaded to approach near to the Horses & Cattle, but our Sheep & Goats, being more like their Hogs, they did not regard with the same degree of Terror tho' it was some time before they became thoroughly reconciled to the Goats; these on being approached by the Indians would rear on their hind Legs & make a push at them, which put them in bodily fear & often made whole armies fly. However they found out by degrees that they were as innocent as the Sheep & only more playful, so that at last the Indians passed by them 648 or advanced up to them without any dread. During the time of 609 erecting our Tents we were surrounded by a great Number of 643 Indians who behaved in an orderly and peaceable Manner and at night retired to their several Homes except the attendants of Powlohow, who remained with him at his House waiting for his Supper. [431] Some Servants arrived with provisions enough for a Hundred men which Powlohow, after a basket or two were laid by for himself, ordered to be laid at the Doors of our Tents as a present for our people together with a number of Cocoa nuts; the provision he

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Capt[n] Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

some few with as fine brown hair, as ever I met with. The people of distinction in general wear their Hair rather long, those of inferior rank quite short; some of the Women of Fashion let it grow & hang in ringlets below their Waist. These people cut their Hair & shave with Sharks Teeth, which answer those purposes amazingly well. They are exceedingly neat & cleanly in their Persons, both Men & Women bathe as soon as they rise in the Morning, and are then rub'd over with Oil which has a most agreeable perfume; this perfume has a pleasing effect if at any time you get umbled among a multitude of them, which was frequently the Case.

Their police[1] I never cou'd clearly understand; now tho' Powlahow is King here to all intents & purposes, still there's a family consisting of a Mother, 2 Daughters & a Son, who, tho' of no consequence in the State, Powlahow cannot eat or drink before, & in many Cases does them Homage; the Mother was Powlahow's Fathers Sister, of course his Aunt, & these Daughters & Son his Cousins.[2] We had the Son & one of the Daughters frequently with us; they are not even Principals of any districts, nor seemingly have any thing at all to do with government, but live a strange lawless Life, going where they please & doing what they please. It is not unusual here, if any Gentleman sees a Servant carrying Plantains, Yams or whatever may be, to call him & demand whose property that is, & upon being made acquainted, if he happens to be a Man of less consequence than himself, he will without any hesitation take any part he pleases, or probably the whole, & send the poor Fellow away about his Business. This Cousin of Powlahow's, whose Name is Latūla-boolu,[3] one day was by our Tent & saw 2 fellows passing, loaded with ripe Plantains, he call'd to them & demanded where they were going, they answerd, to Powlahow, upon which he order'd them to bring the Plantains to him, this they not very readily obeying, he sent two of his retinue who beat them confoundedly & made the poor fellows bring the Plantains & beg to be excused farther Punishment; these he wanted to sell but cou'd not find a purchaser, he then eat as many as he cou'd, gave to some Gentlemen there as many as they wou'd have & very civilly order'd Powlahows Men to take the rest to his Master. As to the lower Class of People they certainly can have no redress for the grievances inflicted by the Agee's, be they whatever they may; this I conclude from Transactions which happen'd immediately before us, for I think it is a very fair inference, if they may knock their Brains out at their Pleasure, they may certainly do any thing else they shou'd chance to take in their Heads. One day while we were laying at Anamooka, an Agee orderd the People to retire from our Market Place, where we were trading for Hogs, Yams &c; they directly moved off, but not being so quick in their Motions as the Agee thought they shou'd, he took up a confounded large Stick, and beat without mercy who ever he

[1] Principles of 'public administration'.

[2] Clerke seems to be speaking of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala, the female Tu'i Tonga, and her children the *Tamaha*; the eldest daughter was Maoungalakepa, the son was Latunipulu. Cf. Cook, p. 136, n. 2 above.

[3] Latunipulu.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the time that their entertainments were exhibit'd there might be not short of 12,000 people, who built temporary huts or slept under the trees about the tent; at the Ceremony at Moa[1] we suppose not less than 600 chiefs were assembled, but from these bodies I see no good conclusion to be drawn of the number in either all, or any one of them. From the Nature of the Country, requiring the labour & industry of the Natives for their support, it cannot be near so populous in proportion to their size as what the Society Islands are; the houses here are by no means thickly scatterd about & many parts in all the Islands are uncultivat'd, owing to the Sandiness & poverty of the Soil in low Islands, & in the high ones to their elevatd & expos'd situation; besides the larger low Islands have extensive lagoons & lakes as at Tonga & Anamooka, which considerably lessens the surface, leaving therefore their population to be gatherd from the nature of the Country. We will proceed to their Colour, form, & Natural dispositions.

The Friendly Islanders are of a lively brown Colour & a shade darker than Omai. Although many of their principal women were fairer, their colour resembles that of the Mallays we saw at the Cape of Good hope; they are in general above the middle size, many very tall men & but a few under sizd, they are firmly & compactly made about the joints, broad shoulderd & Muscular, & perhaps few natives exceed them in that form, which requires both strenght & agility; this is even to be observ'd in their walking but abundantly shewn in their athletick exercises & dances: their hair I believe is universally black or a dark brown when young, but they have a method of colouring it which deceives one at first; it is not unusual to see two diff[t] colours on the same head, & perhaps one purple; a sort of chalky paste which they very often daub upon their heads turns the hair a yellow sandy colour; they are still more various in their fashion of wearing it, being cut short on some parts & others left long, yet as they seem to admire fine long hair, we rather suppose that when it is even partially cut, & we know it to be the case when all short, that it is in memory of some deceas'd friend. There are but few who have beards, but shave very dextrously with 2 shells, laying one under the hair & the sharp point of the one above meeting that of the one below, cuts it close off. The Chiefs have glossy smooth skins preservd so by frequent washing; & as fresh water is scarce, they after bathing in salt water throw over them a few coco nut shells of fresh, which takes the salt which otherwise adheres to the skin, & which gives a disagreeable roughness to that of the common people, & afterwards rub over their bodies Coco nut Oile perfectly sweet & free from any disagreeable smell. There are nevertheless many cutanious marks from disorders & from voluntary inflictions; more than half of them are affect'd with the tetter or ringworm, which leaves behind a whitish mark; boils & blotches are often met with, & inflam'd sore Eyes are frequent; few are free from marks on the Cheek bone, which they make by quick repeating strokes with the knuckles on the death of their friends or relations, besides these there are many other disfiguring marks inflict'd on the same

[1] Mu'a.

[436 cont.]

175 439 237 227 171 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-hooks, called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches

11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

175 439 301 237 824 531 long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast, their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.

175 285 531 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and

175 171 515 415 824 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head, were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and made of the club-wood (casuarina equistifeolia), which had this name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with

175 411 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular, so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

[475 cont.]

175 171 312 only drink of the salutary element, but likewise bathe so frequently in it that no impurity can long adhere to their skin. It is very different with a people who are absolutely denied this blessing, and who must either content themselves with putrid stagnant rain-

175 515 water in a few dirty pools, or go entirely without it. They are obliged to have recourse to expedients in order to preserve a certain degree of cleanliness, which may preclude various distempers.

175 302 171 They therefore cut off their hair, and shave or clip their beards, which doubtless makes them look more unlike the Taheitians than they would otherwise do. Still these precautions are not sufficient,

175 312 especially as they have no fluid for drinking in any quantity. The

175 164 body is therefore very subject to leprous complaints, which are perhaps irritated by the use of the pepper-root water or awa.

175 304 Hence also that burning or blistering on the cheek-bones which we observed to be so general among this tribe, that hardly an individual was free from it, and which can only be used as a remedy

000 against some disorders. The soil of the Society Isles in the plains and vallies is rich, and the rivulets which intersect it, supply

175 171 433 abundance of moisture. All sorts of vegetables therefore thrive with great luxuriance upon it, and require little attendance or cultivation. This [476] profusion is become the source of that great luxury among the chiefs which we do not meet with at Tonga-

175 433 134 312 Tabboo. There the coral rock is covered only with a thin bed of mould, which sparingly affords nourishment to all sorts of trees; and the most useful of all, the bread-fruit tree, thrives imperfectly on the island, as it is destitute of water, except when a genial

000 shower happens to impregnate and fertilize the ground. The labour

[186 cont.]

133 The island of Namoka, which we left after a stay of two days only,
162 was not above fifteen miles in circuit, but seemed to be remarkably
populous. It lies in 20° 17' S. and 174° 32' W. In the group
131
175 of islands which appeared around it, its size was the most considerable
133 but all seemed to be well inhabited, and very rich in vegetable pro-
142
137 ductions. They are situated on a kind of bank, on which there is from
175 nine to sixty and seventy fathom water, and the soil is probably
133 the same in every island. Namoka consists, like Tonga-Tabboo, of a
175 coral-rock, covered with a rich mould on which all sorts of vegetables
[194] thrive. We had no time to examine the hillock in its centre, which
seems to have had a different origin, and may perhaps be volcanic.
At present it is wholly covered with the richest groves, like the
312 rest of the island. The abundance of fresh water in the pond, is an
175 advantage which the people of Namoka enjoy [187] in preference to those
[515] of Tonga-Tabboo; but it does not appear that they bathe so regularly
as the Taheitians, perhaps because the stagnant water is not very in-
[823] viting. Its advantage is however so much felt, that the natives brought
[415] it to the ship in calabashes, and did the same to Tasman, which implies
that it is looked upon as a valuable article among them. The abundance
137
175 of water, and the richness of the soil likewise seems to be the reason,
that bread-fruit and shaddock trees are much more frequent, and all
[417] vegetation infinitely more luxuriant than on Tonga-Tabboo. The fences
on that account are not laid out, and kept up with that extreme
regularity, though they are still preserved in part. The long walks
of fruit-trees, and the delightful green turf under them, were rather
to be compared to the richest spots on Ea-oowhe, or Middleburg Island.
The tufted arbours which vaulted over the paths, are hung with beautiful

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Introduced ornamental.[1] Frequent about dwellings and cemeteries. Occasional as an escape in waste areas. An African species now of worldwide cultivation. [137] [824] [247] [351]

Tongan name: *polosomo.*

FAMILY RHAMNACEAE

Genus **Rhamnella** Miquel

Rhamnella vitiensis (Bentham) A. C. Smith, Torrey Bot. Club, Bull. **70**: 544, 1943.

"A small, gnarled tree, up to 3 m. or more tall. Leaves oval. Flowers axillary, the petals pale yellow."

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Infrequent. From Queensland and New Guinea eastward to Tonga.

Rhamnus vitiensis Benth. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *taka.*

Genus **Colubrina** L. C. Richard

Colubrina asiatica (Linnaeus) Brongniart, Ann. Sci. Nat. **10**: 369, 1827.

More or less sprawling shrub, or sometimes a small tree up to 3 or 4 m. tall. Leaves simple, alternate, ovate, acuminate, base rounded or subcordate, crenate-dentate, up to 8 cm. or more long and 5 cm. wide, palmately three-nerved, midrib branched upward, nearly glabrous, petioles about 1 cm. long. Flowers small, yellowish green, on slender pedicels, in small, axillary, short-pedunculate, cymose clusters; fruit subglobose, 6-8 mm. in diameter, greenish.

Tongatapu: in seaside thicket along road west of Nuku'alofa, Mar. 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15214;* near Navutoka village, Feb. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15094;* near beach eastward of Ma'ofanga, Oct. 29, 1951, *Hürlimann 19.*

'Eua: *Lister;* near sea, above Ohonua village, Apr. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15619.*

Nomuka: margin of thicket on lakeward side of road encircling island, May 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15836.*

Lifuka: seaside thicket toward northern end of island, Apr. 24, 1953, *Yuncker 15703.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* upper rim of seaside cliff northeast of Leimatua, May 20, 1953, *Yuncker 16059.*

Niuatoputapu: plain south of Falehau, Dec. 7, 1951, *Hürlimann 382.*

Frequent near the shore throughout Tonga. From Africa and India eastward to Polynesia.

Tongan name: *fiho'a.*

The bark and the leaves lather when rubbed in water and may be used as a soap substitute. [824] [515]

[1] /Impatiens balsamina -- Analyst/

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Genus **Alphitonia** Reissek

137 **Alphitonia zizyphoides** (Solander) A. Gray, U.S. Expl. Exped., Bot. 1: 278, pl. 22, 1854.

Medium to large tree with young branches brown-tomentose. Leaves alternate, elliptic-lanceolate, acute, base rounded, obtuse or acutish, up to 15 cm. or more long and 5 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, nerves prominent, bright green above, whitened-tomentose beneath, petioles 1-2 cm. long. Flowers small, whitish, numerous, in branching, axillary, and terminal, cymose clusters; fruit about 5 mm. in diameter, purplish.

Tongatapu: *U.S. Expl. Exped.; Home;* forest near sea, vicinity of Niutoua village, Mar. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15121.*

'Eua: *Lister;* summit of eastern ridge above Fuaʻi, Nov. 9, 1951, *Hürlimann 199;* open forest near center of island, Mar. 19, 1953, *Yuncker 15360.*

Nomuka: clearing along road encircling island between sea and central lake, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15819.*

Lifuka: roadside, between Pangai village and southern end of island, Apr. 28, 1953, *Yuncker 15784.*

Kao: lower margin of slope forest, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15962.*

Vavaʻu: *Crosby;* upper slope of Talau, west of Neiafu, May 24, 1953, *Yuncker 16153.*

Tafahi: along road from township of Tafahi toward Taʻiʻavanui, Dec. 15, 1951, *Hürlimann 567.*

Frequent throughout Tonga. From Sumatra and the Philippines eastward to Polynesia.

A. excelsa Reiss. in Hemsley's and Burkill's lists.

Tongan name: *toi.*

[824 313 396 278 515] This tree provides an excellent grade of timber useful in construction work and for dugout canoes, poi pounders, banana shooks, and the like. The bark is used in preparing medicines, and the leaves may be used as a soap substitute.

FAMILY ELAEOCARPACEAE

Genus **Elaeocarpus** Linnaeus

Elaeocarpus tonganus Burkill, Linn. Soc. Bot., Jour. 35: 29, 1901.

Medium-sized tree up to 10 m. or more tall. Leaves alternate, elliptic or elliptic-ovate, acuminate, base acutish or obtuse, crenulate, up to 12 cm. or more long and 6 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, petiole slender, up to 4 or 5 cm. long. Flowers less than 1 cm. long, in simple, mostly axillary racemes up to 5 cm. or more long, pedicels up to 1.5 cm. long, inflorescence silky-hairy; fruit ellipsoidal, up to 1.5 cm. long.

'Eua: in forest near summit of eastern ridge, Mar. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15554* [a juvenile specimen, presumably this species].

Vavaʻu: *Crosby 15* [type]; edge of forest above Leimatua, May 20, 1953, *Yuncker 16055;* on steep slope leading to lagoon at Vaihoi, below Leimatua, May 26, 1953, *Yuncker 16183.*

/27 cont./

181 In general, the Tongans have kept the cleanliness and love of
515 order characteristic of the Polynesians. The huts inside usually
[356] look quite tidy and clean, and in personal grooming people are fairly conscientious. This has increased to a certain extent through teaching of hygiene in all schools, so that one scarcely meets a Tongan with long, black-bordered fingernails or toenails. However, on the
181 Tongan plantations orderliness often leaves much to be desired and the
351 neatly plaited fences praised by earlier observers (41)
178
[113]

41. For example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 163; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 323/324; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean/cited in English/. London 1799. pp. 102, 245; Ch. Wilkes, loc. cit. p. 13.

are today to be found neither on the plantation (where at most a single barbed wire constitutes the fence) nor in the villages. (42)

42. Only a few villages have a (usually uncared-for) stockade-style fence (coconut palm trunks) to set off plantings.

[247] In the latter there is also not always painstaking order and cleanliness, and one seldom comes across a property owner who has planted flowers and ornamental bushes for beauty. (43)

[113]

43. Compare with this G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 325, 340; J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemishpere Austral /Voyage in the southern hemisphere/ vol. II. Paris 1778. p. 68.

181 Most of the wooden houses in need or repair are so neglected that they
351 are practically falling apart. The untidiness of many plantations is
177 usually due to the often rather long approach to them required by
461 their owners and the proliferating weeds resulting from climate con-
[356] ditions, whereas the lack of orderliness in the villages may be regarded as a direct result of European influences which also brought

/43 cont./

757 8. Diarrhea in children (common type). The grated rind of the mo'osipo root and mo'osipo leaves pounded between two stones are together wrapped in kaka 'i niu (see no. 3) and then put in cold water. The sick child is supposed to drink two mouthfuls of this liquid.

752 10. Cuts. The leaves of the ate plant are pounded between two stones, wrapped in a piece of clean tapa and squeezed out so that the liquid runs into the cut. This remedy is also tried in the case of tetanus. The leaves of the Tongan cotton plant (vavae Tonga) are used in the same way in treating wounds.

757 11. Carbuncles. The yellow leaves fallen from the 'ovava tree (Ficus obliqua Forst.) are chewed and applied to the affected part along with the saliva.

12. Filariasis. The grated rind of the pukovili tree is wrapped in kaka 'i niu (see no. 3) and put in cold water. The patient must drink this twice a day.

177 /44/ The change initiated by the European system of health care will undoubtedly become greater in the course of the next few years, especially since the coming generation, if only as a result of school training, will have more confidence than have their elders in the European medical art. But even today, with respect to their attitude toward "modern health care," the Tongans probably do not compare unfavorably with European peasants in the non-industrialized zones.

b) Care of Body, Hair Style

Care of Body

177 515 Naturally, contact with the European world led to certain changes in the care of the body. The Tongan preserved his old sense of cleanliness, (97)

97. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...

/44 cont./

177
515

/Description/. loc. cit. VI. p. 281.
Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. loc. cit.
I. p. 310.

but the means employed for keeping the body clean changed. Soap and towel found their way to the smallest island. This development was encouraged early on by the missionaries. Because of the low cost of soap (Australian "palmolive" /cited in English/ and "lux" /cited in English/ cost only 7 d.T. = 0.28 German marks), no Tongan nowadays takes the trouble to make the old cleansing agents (for example, from the bark of the fiho'a shrub), although these are still known and in times of scarcity (for example, during the second World War) may definitely be used. -- Very seldom does one see adult
515 natives bathing in the sea. Only children, say between three and 13 years, like to splash about in the sea and the surf. Yet the adults are mostly skillful swimmers. However, they avoid the sea water as much as possible "because the salt has a disagreeable effect on the skin," (98)

98. This was already mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281).

and after such a bath a special freshwater sponge bath seems necessary. The majority of Tongans wash themselves thoroughly with freshwater (collected rain water) at least once a day, mainly in the evening,
515 after work in the plantings, for instance. For this purpose most
343 families have on their grounds small "bath huts" (99)

99. Counts in 'Uiha/'Uhia and Fungamisi/Vava'u showed that of 100 households (45 respectively) 81 (25 respectively) own bath huts.

made of plaited coconut palm leaves (pola), old timber, sheet metal or corrugated iron, and on a surface area of about 2.5 square meters they have a zinc tub or an old wooden bowl as the only piece of equipment.

/44 cont./

515 [132] equipment. In times of drought (often October to December) the supply of rain water is sometimes so scarce that people temporarily forego the daily thorough bathing.

515 302 /45/ Although in the schools, in the subject of hygiene, there is general instruction in tooth brushing, and European toothbrushes are easily obtainable, only very few Tongans have so far used them. However, fingernails and toenails are cut quite short so that there is almost no rim and the nail surface is often circular. Nails [412] are mostly cut with the large bush knife. Ancient Tongan cutting [198] tools (shells, bamboo) are no longer used. For shaving, the two 302 shells, the pumice and the shark's tooth (100)
177 [113]

100. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage a la recherche de La Perouse /Account of the voyage in search of La Perouse/ vol. II. Paris 1800. p/120; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien /Australia/. loc. cit. vol. I, part 2. p. 640; J. Martin, An account... /cited in English/. loc. cit. II. p. 282.

have long since been replaced by razor blades which can be bought on most of the islands. However, not all Tongans own a safety razor. Many shave simply with the blade held in their hand, which is more a scraping than a cutting, and is reminiscent of the pumice stone. Even in the smallest village a great many natives are generally neatly shaved, some have a stubble varying in length (101)

101. On Sundays, however even the latter are almost always smoothly shaved.

302 and a few wear more or less well cared-for full beards. This state 565 of affairs seems in general to resemble the pre-European era, though the commoners in olden times probably groomed themselves less carefully than the nobles. (102)

302 177 113

102. Cf. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. loc. cit. I p. 92; if the

/54 cont./

older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a vala, whereas nine (one older and eight younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports, and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

/134 cont./

343 178 (or various materials and all kinds of shapes) or vacant dwellings serve to store supplies. Almost every household, however, has a cook 343 252 hut which is usually put up as a "stick construction" with a very simple shape and is covered [on top and sides] with interlaced coconut-palm leaves (pola); sometimes bamboo (walls), timber and corrugated metal are also used. The families who do not own a cook hut cook in the open (for example, under a large tree) or at a neighbor's, never [178] inside the dwelling. The ancient Tongan custom of separating dwelling and kitchen has thus been retained. As a result of efforts on the part 343 of authorities, most Tongan households today have separate latrine huts 514 178 covered with interwoven coconut-palm twigs (pola) or with timber and/or corrugated metal. The /135/ little "bath" houses erected on most 343 properties, in which people wash in a zinc tub or a wash basin. often 515 consist of only three pola-walls; some are also built of wood and corrugated metal and are roofed-over. 343 Boat houses occur now and then in the shape of simple roofs covered with interwoven coconut-palm leaves, which are supposed to protect sailboats temporarily out of service from the inclemencies of the weather. Roofed-over work areas [178] (especially for women) on many properties in the villages have similar, simple roofs, as in old times. (362)

362. See G. Forster, loc. cit. I. p. 139.

342 178 177 To sum up, we may say that today in the Tonga Archipelago there are no longer any dwellings which correspond exactly to the ancient Tongan dwelling. However, despite the new building material and the model of the simpler, rectangular constructions, one-half (and more) or the numerous types or today show the old form of the long house with rounded narrow sides. With this has arisen a fusion of the old and the new which strikes us as strange.

342 463 For house-building in ancient Tonga there were specialists

/226 cont./

512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them, [264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the [515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked) and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have [574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In [794] [533] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for [796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building (not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/232 cont./

505 passengers go to sleep crowded together on or below (610)
484
(554)

610. Here dignitaries (chiefs, pastors) and older Tongans usually rest.

the small deck while the crew take turns at the wheel. They watch
505 the compass with the help of a lantern or flashlight, observe the
502 wind and the current and possibly certain bright stars. When reefs
484 are passed one man will often stand in the bow and correct the course; within range of one of the few navigation lights of the Archipelago a native may also climb the small mast to determine the
505 course from there. In the morning, at sunrise, a devotional service
484 is held. The passengers, two of whom have become seasick (!) then
(302) get ready for the landing. The women, in particular, comb and oil
(515) their hair, delouse each other and tie up their hairdos. Around eight o'clock the boat docks at Ma'ofanga (near Nuku'alofa); the passengers disembark and the crew follows after the freight has been unloaded and packed onto a truck.

On December 4th, around 18 o'clock, the "Leiola" then sailed back to Nomuka and Mango with the same crew, four passengers and a load of six barrels of cement and a few cases of soap.

505 While the sailboats described are used for "long-distance
501 traffic" wihtin the Archipelago, (611)

611. The two auxiliary ketches as well as a few sailboats equipped with auxiliary motors belonging to the Tongan churches sometimes travel even to Fiji.

the simple little outrigger, the popao, is the typical conveyance of
501 short-distance traffic. This dugout with outrigger equipment is the
178 only watercraft of ancient Tongan style which is still made in rather large numbers. The complicated and slightly larger outrigger of the
/233/ tafa'anga type, the boat body of which is made of planks that are lashed with coconut fiber cords and sealed with resin, (612)

F 181 179 /304 cont./ wars and cannibalism belong to the distant past and the Fijians today are among the most good-natured and sociable natives of the Pacific.

F 142 144 Their physical build--like that of the Tongas--probably corresponds in general to that of their ancestors, although on these Islands there is a far larger group of half-castes (32)

32. Mostly European fathers and Fijian mothers; not often a Chinese, and very seldom an Indian parent.

as a result of the stronger European influence.

F 161 The Fijian population figure has also continually increased in the last few decades, but not nearly in the same proportion as that of the Tongans and Samoans; (33)

33. The number of Fijians decreased even many years before their surrender. In 1874 it was estimated at 150,000 (Derrick, The Fiji Islands /cited in English/. p. 130), and dropped further as a result of major epidemic until 1906. The upward development which then began experienced a further setback in 1919 (influenza epidemic), thus reaching the lowest known figure of 83,000 (Colony of Fiji, Annual Report 1950. p. 10). Since that time the Fijians have recovered; at the end of 1951 their number (official estimate) amounted to 132, 889 (Fiji Information. Vol. 2. No. 6. 1952)

F [731 064] the birth figures in Fiji are lower than in Tonga and Samoa, whereas the death rate is higher.

F 744 177 575 /305/With regard to health services in Fiji there is a change similar to that in Tonga, and, along with some native medicines and treatments which are still used even though they have been prohibited, there is considerable confidence in European medicine; besides the native medical practitioners /cited in English/ working in the Archipelago, women's committees have also been formed here for health care in the villages. As for sanitary equipment, the Tongans seem to be more progressive than the Fijians in building latrines and especially in building of "bath houses."

F 744 514 615

000 /305 cont./

T F 515 177 especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

T F 302 177 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion, and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing

T F 291 177 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adprnment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji

T F 304 178 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

T F 581 177 997 In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago

T F 593 604 178 under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"

T F 601 survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have

T F 585 kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show

349 984 177 178